

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 09221 01 OF 02 022159Z

70

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W

----- 033518

P R 021518Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1826

INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 9221

EXDIS

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, OREP (HUMPHREY, HUBERT AND SCOTT, HUGH), UR, US

SUBJECT: CODEL HUMPHREY/SCOTT: ARMS CONTROL ISSUES

1. SUMMARY: U.S. SENATORS, DURING ARMS CONTROL DISCUSSIONS WITH SUPREME SOVIET COUNTERPARTS JULY 1, SOUGHT TO PIN THE SOVIETS DOWN ON DISCLOSURE OF THEIR MILITARY BUDGET AND ON SOVIET INTENTIONS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. ON BOTH ISSUES THE SOVIETS DEPUTIES RETREATED BEHIND A THICKET OF GENERALITIES. ON THE BUDGET ISSUE, THEY CLAIMED THEY WERE REDUCING. ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, PONOMAREV SAID FLEETS ARE FREE TO SAIL ANYWHERE; OTHER SOVIETS MORE CAUTIOUSLY SAID THAT ANY SOVIET-U.S. NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT THE INDIAN OCEAN HAD TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF OTHER INTERESTED COUNTRIES. THE SOVIETS DUCKED REFERENCES TO BERBERA, EXCEPT TO SAY THAT THERE IS NO SOVIET BASE IN THE AREA AND THAT THE SOMALIS HAVE INVITED AMERICAN LEGISLATORS TO INSPECT. VETERAN PROPAGANDIST YURI ZHUKOV ACCUSED SECRETARY SCHLESINGER OF VIOLATING THE AGREEMENT ON PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR IN HIS REMARKS ON USING TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS; OTHER SOVIET SPEAKERS ALSO CRITICIZED SCHLESINGER. THE SOVIETS SHED LITTLE LIGHT ON BREZHNEV'S STATEMENT ON NEW WEAPONS, THOUGH ZAMYATIN INDICATED THAT IT WAS CONCERN OVER US MOVEMENT IN THIS FIELD WHICH HAD PROMPTED BREZHNEV'S REMARKS. THE SOVIETS WERE ALSO PREDICTABLY CRITICAL OF THE U.S. DEFENSE BUDGET. WHILE DIFFERENCES OF VIEW ON ARMS CONTROL ISSUES WERE LEGION, ATMOSPHERE WAS WITHOUT RANCOR AND DEBATE WAS NOT NEARLY SO HEATED AS OVER EMIGRATION. END SUMMARY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 09221 01 OF 02 022159Z

2. FOLLOWING ACCOUNT IS A SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSIONS DURING THE MORNING AND AFTERNOON OF JULY 1 RELATING TO ARMS CONTROL. SEPTELS WIL COVER OTHER ITEMS DISCUSSED IN THOSE SESSIONS AND IN THE MORNING SESSION WEDNESDAY, JULY 2.

3. SENATOR CULVER GAVE THE KEYNOTE SPEECH FOR THE SENATORIAL GROUP ON ARMS CONTROL. HE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF BREAKING THE SPIRAL OF THE ARMS RACE, AND LISTED FIVE BASIC POINTS: (1) FULL PUBLIC DISCLOSURE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS DOCTRINES AND MILITARY BUDGETS; (2) AVOIDANCE OF PROGRAMS THAT PUT INTO QUESTION EITHER SIDE'S COMMITMENT TO DETERRENCE; (3) RESISTANCE TO THE PRESSURE OF WEAPONS BUILDERS; (4) LIMITATION OF THE CONVENTIONAL ARMS RACE; AND (5) DIVERSION OF DEFENSE RESOURCE TO OTHER PRIORITIES. CULVER NOTED THAT SPECIFIC ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS ARE THE BEST WAY TO SHOW THAT DETENTE IS WORKING, AND URGED A VERIFIABLE SALT II AGREEMENT FOLLOWED QUICKLY BY TALKS ON REDUCTION.

4. CULVER TOUCHED BRIEFLY ON THE NEED FOR MOVEMENT IN MBFR, PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS, ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION AND CHEMICAL WARFARE. HE CALLED FOR AN AGREEMENT ON BILATERAL RESTRAINT IN NAVAL ACTIONS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, E.G., THROUGH LIMITATION OF THE NUMBER OF SHIP DAYS; AND HE ASKED THE SOVIET REACTION. CULVER ALSO EMPHASIZED THE NECESSITY OF VERIFIABLE DATA ON THE SOVIET DEFENSE BUDGET. HE CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT THE U.S. WILL NOT UNILATERALLY GIVE UP ITS ABILITY TO DEFEND ITSELF AND, IN THE ABSENCE OF ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS, WILL DO WHAT IS NECESSARY TO PROTECT ITS DEFENSE CAPABILITY.

5. ARBATOV RESPONDED IN A FAMILIAR VEIN. HE RECALLED THE FREQUENT INVASIONS OF RUSSIA AND THE DIFFICULTY OF CHANGING RUSSIAN SUSPICIOUSNESS ABOUT THE INTENTIONS OF FOREIGNERS. ARBATOV SHARPLY CRITICIZED FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY LAIRD FOR AN ARTICLE IN THE READERS DIGEST AND SAID THAT IT IS UNCOMFORTABLE TO THINK THAT LAIRD HAS BEEN MENTIONED AS A SUCCESSOR TO SECRETARY KISSINGER. IT IS ALSO UNCOMFORTABLE, HE SAID, THAT SENATOR JACKSON MAY BE A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE. ARBATOV THEN CITED NUMEROUS FIGURES TO ARUGE THAT THE U.S. HAS MILITARY SUPERIORITY IN MOST FIELDS, BOTH STRATEGIC AND CONVENTIONAL. HE SAID THE SOVIET EFFORT IS TO CATCH UP TO A CURRENT U.S. SUPERIORITY, WHILE THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 09221 01 OF 02 022159Z

U.S. EFFORT IS TO CATCH UP TO AN IMAGINED SOVIET SUPERIORITY TEN TO FIFTEEN YEARS HENCE.

6. ARBATOV COMPLIMENTED THE KENNEDY-MONDALE-MATHIAS RESOLUTUON CALLING FOR STRATEGIC REDUCTIONS; HE SAID IT CONTAINED RATIONAL THINKING. MBFR, HE SAID THAT THE BALL IS IN THE WESTERN COURT. THE WEST MUST REALIZE THAT U.S. TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS MUST BE MADE A PART OF THE BALANCE. RESPONDING TO A QUESTION OF CULVER'S

ABOUT BREZHNEV'S PROPOSAL ON NEW WEAPONS, ARBATOV SAID THAT HE DID NOT WANT TO SPEAK ABOUT IT IN DETAIL, BUT THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT.

7. SENATOR MATHIAS EXPLAINED THE LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF HIS RESOLUTION ON SALT REDUCTIONS. HE CRITICIZED THE THRESHOLD TEST BAN TREATY AS INSUFFICIENT AND ADDED HIS PERSONAL VIEW THAT PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS SHOULD BE BANNED.

8. SENATOR HUMPHREY INTERVENED TO NOTE THAT SALT II IS CRITICAL AND THAT THE VERIFICATION PROBLEMS MUST BE OVERCOME. ON THE THRESHOLD TEST BAN TREATY, HE SAID THAT THE REASON THE SENATE HAS NOT RATIFIED IS THE SERIOUS PROBLEM OF VERIFICATION POSED BY THE ABSENCE SO FAR OF AN AGREEMENT ON PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS.

9. ZAMYATIN DESCRIBED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING TO THE USSR. HE WAS IMPLICITY CRITICAL OF THE EMPHASIS THE SENATORS WERE PUTTING OF VERIFICATION IN THEIR DISCUSSIONS OF VARIOUS ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS. HE SAID THAT IN THE OLD LEAGUE OF NATIONS THERE WERE MANY DISCUSSIONS ABOUT VERIFICATION AND NOTHING WAS ACCOMPLISHED.

10. ZAMYATIN TURNED TO BREZHNEV'S PROPOSAL ON NEW WEAPONS. HE SAID THE PROPOSAL WOULD NOT NULLIFY OTHER AGREEMENTS (POSSIBLY A REFERENCE TO THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS ON ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION). HE SAID THAT SALT COULD NOT BE FULLY EFFECTIVE UNLESS OTHER WEAPONS WERE DEALT WITH. AND HE ALLEGED A U.S. TENDENCY TO INITIATE VAST PROGRAMS ON NEW WEAPONRY. ZAMYATIN WAS CRITICAL OF SCHLESINGER'S STATEMENTS ON NEW TARGETS AND ON THE USE OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 09221 02 OF 02 022139Z

70

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W

----- 033334

P R 021518Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1827

INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 9221

EXDIS

11. CULVER INTERVENED TO ASK THE SOVIET TO ADDRESS THE ISSUE OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AND THE POSSIBLE SOVIET BASE AT BERBERA.

12. PONOMAREV THEN TOOK THE FLOOR WITH A LONG DEFENSE OF SOVIET ARMS CONTROL INITIATIVES AND OF THE SOVIET ROLE IN DEFENSE OF PEACE. INDIRECTLY RESPONDING TO CULVER, HE SAID THAT THE U.S. JUSTIFIES A GREAT ARMAMENTS BUILDUP SIMPLY BECAUSE THE SOVIET UNION SAILS INTO THE INDIAN OCEAN. "FLEETS CAN SAIL ANYWHERE," SAID PONOMAREV. THE CPSU SECRETARY THEN READ A LONG LIST OF SOVIET PROPOSALS ON ARMS CONTROL DATING AS FAR BACK AS 1946. HE, TOO, WAS CRITICAL OF SCHLESINGER, SAYING THAT HIS LATEST SPEECHES WERE AGAINST THE SPIRIT OF DETENTE.

13. PONOMAREV GAVE PARTICULAR EMPHASIS TO A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE AND IN THIS CONTEXT HE DESCRIBED THE CHINESE NUCLEAR ARMS BUILDUP AS "SO FAST THAT IT IS A GRAVE DANGER." HE SAID THAT THE CHINESE REPRESENTATIVES REJECT ANY DISCUSSION OF ARMS REDUCTION AND OPPOSE A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

14. SENATOR HART STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF DIVERTING RESOURCES FROM MILITARY TO DOMESTIC NEEDS. HE SAID THAT THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE HAD KNOCKED 4.5 BILLION DOLLARS OUT OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS REQUEST AND ASKED IF THE SUPREME SOVIET COULD MAKE THE SAME CLAIM. LIKE OTHER SENATORS, HART EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF VERIFICATION AND OF DISCLOSURE OF DEFENSE EXPENDITURES. HE ALSO ASKED FOR THE SOVIET POSITION ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, SAYING (IN REBUTTAL OF PONOMAREV) THAT IT CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 09221 02 OF 02 022139Z

IS NOT HELPFUL TO SAY THAT "FLEETS ARE BUILT TO CRUISE IN ALL WATERS."

15. SENATOR LEAHY MADE THE POINT THAT THE ARGUMENT IN CONGRESS OVER DIEGO GARCIA WOULD BE BASED ON PERCEPTIONS OF THE SOVIET INTENT IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, AND HE ASKED WHAT THAT INTENT IS.

16. INOZEMTSEV BEGAN HIS TALK BY DEFENDING THE SOVIET POSITION ON BUDGET DISCLOSURES. HE SAID THAT THE SUPREME SOVIET CAREFULLY DISCUSSES ALL ITEMS IN THE DEFENSE BUDGET. HE NOTED THAT SOVIET BUDGET DEVELOPMENT DIFFERS FROM U.S. AND HE CHARGED THAT THE U.S. BUDGET IS DISTORTED SINCE IT DOES NOT INCLUDE THE ACTIVITIES IN THE MILITARY SPHERE OF PRIVATE MONOPOLISTIC CORPORATIONS. ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, INOZEMTSEV SAID THAT THE AREA OF SECURITY SHOULD BE EXTENDED TO IT AND THAT IT SHOULD BE FREE OF ARMAMENTS. HE SAID THE USSR WOULD BE WILLING FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, BUT THAT THEY SHOULD INCLUDE OTHER INTERESTED COUNTRIES. ON THE BERBERA ISSUE, INOZEMTSEV SAID THAT, WHILE THE U.S. HAS

BASES IN THE AREA, THE USSR DOES NOT. HE NOTED THAT THE SOMALI LEADERS HAD INVITED AMERICAN LEGISLATORS TO SEE FOR THEMSELVES.

17. YURIY ZHUKOV, PRAVDA POLITICAL COMMENTATOR, IN HIS ONLY INTERVENTION DURING THE DEBATES, SAID THAT SCHLESINGER'S COMMENTS ABOUT A NUCLEAR FIRST STRIKE (SIC) WERE A "GROSS VIOLATION" OF THE U.S.-SOVIET AGREEMENT ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR. ON MILITARY BUDGETS, ZHUKOV CLAIMED THAT THE USSR HAS REDUCED ITS MILITARY BUDGET IN EVERY YEAR SINCE 1973.

18. AFTER THE LUNCHEON BREAK, SENATORS MCCLURE AND DOMENICI BOTH URGED MORE SOVIET DISCLOSURE OF BUDGET FIGURES. IN RESPONSE, ARBATOV SAID THAT THE ENTIRE SOVIET BUDGET WAS 208 BILLION RUBLES AND THAT THE DEFENSE PART OF IT WAS 17.4 BILLION RUBLES. HE SAID THAT IF MUTUAL TRUST GROWS, IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO DECLASSIFY THE BREAKDOWN OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES. IN ANY CASE, ARBATOV SAID THAT THE U.S. CONGRESS HAS ENOUGH DATA ON THE SOVIET MILITARY BUDGET "EVEN WITHOUT THE PENTAGON'S FANTASTIC CONCOCTION".

19. ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, ARBATOV SAID IT WAS NOT THE PROVINCE OF THE SUPREME SOVIET TO BEGIN DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS, BUT "WE ARE READY TO DISCUSS THINGS." ARBATOV SAID THE SOVIETS HAD MADE A SPECIFIC PROPOSAL ON THE MEDITERRANEAN AND IT MIGHT BE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 09221 02 OF 02 022139Z

USEFUL TO BEGIN WITH THAT. REPEATING INOZEMTSEV'S POINT, HE SAID THAT THE USSR AND THE UNITED STATES CANNOT LAY DOWN THE LAW IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, BUT NEED TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE INTERESTS OF OTHER COUNTRIES.

20. SENATOR PERCY ADDED HIS VOICE TO THOSE ASKING FOR SOVIET BUDGET DISCLOSURE. HE ALSO EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR A CONVENTION ON THE PHYSICAL SECURITY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO PREVENT THEFT OR CARELESS HANDLING. HE COMPLIMENTED THE USSR FOR RESTRAINT IN REACTING TO THE U.S. FAILURE IN VIETNAM AND TO THE FAILURE OF THE SECRETARY'S EFFORTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

21. MCCLURE INTERVENED TO SAY THAT ZHUKOV WAS WRONG TO ATTRIBUTE TO SCHLESINGER THE ADVOCACY OF A FIRST STRIKE WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE CLARIFIED THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FIRST STRIKE AND FIRST USE. ARBATOV REJOINED THAT SCHLESINGER'S STATEMENT WAS NEVERTHELESS CONTRARY TO THE "SPIRIT" OF THE AGREEMENT OF PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR. (UNLIKE ZHUKOV, ARBATOV DID NOT ACCUSE SCHLESINGER OF VIOLATING THE AGREEMENT.)

22. PONOMAREV, IN SUMMING UP AT THE END OF THE DAY, GAVE PARTICULAR EMPHASIS TO ARMS CONTROL IN UNDERLINING THE SOVIET COMMITMENT TO DETENTE. HE SAID HE WAS GLAD THAT PRESIDENT FORD POINTED OUT THAT THE USSR FULLY FULFILLS ITS AGREEMENTS (APPARENTLY

A REFERENCE TO THE PRESIDENT'S REMARK THAT THE SOVIETS ARE NOT VIOLATING THE SALT AGREEMENT). HE REVIEWED AGREEMENTS ALREADY CONCLUDED AND STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF BREZHNEV'S SPEECH ON NEW WEAPONS (NOTING THE APPROBATION BY SENATORS HATHAWAY AND PELL). HE NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THAT CSCE WAS COMING TO A POSITIVE END AND HE LOOKED FORWARD TO A THIRD STAGE SUMMIT. PONOMAREV REAFFIRMED SOVIET INTENTION TO TRANSFER EVERY AGREEMENT INTO SPECIFIC DEEDS.
STOESSEL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MILITARY BUDGET, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, ARMS PRODUCTION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 JUL 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MOSCOW09221
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750229-1085
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750792/aaaadebh.tel
Line Count: 286
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <14 APR 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <15 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CODEL HUMPHREY/SCOTT: ARMS CONTROL ISSUES
TAGS: PFOR, PARM, OREP, UR, US, (HUMPHREY, HUBERT H), (SCOTT, HUGH)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006